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Incorporating Empire

WHAT NEXT IN CYPRUS?

by Lena Jeger, M.P.

CONSTITUTIONAL proposals for Cyprus were announced in the House of Commons in July, 1954. Since then all that is known officially is that 'consultations are taking place.' With whom, one wonders, are the authorities consulting? It cannot be with the Archbishop of Cyprus, the most influential individual in the island, for he has never met the Governor nor his representatives. Nor can it be with the organised workers, for both the communist and non-communist unions are opposed uncompromisingly to the proposals. Nor can it be with the only elected representatives in Cyprus, the municipalities, for every mayor and council, communist and non-communist, have turned their backs on the proposals.

Certainly the situation was not helped by the publishing of threats to enforce the anti-sedition laws. But apart from this blunder one has to look more deeply into the failure of this Government and of the Labour Government, with its more liberal proposals, to gain support among the mass of Cypriot people for a constitution.

I can only here suggest some of the reasons to which I came after many talks all over this lovely island with all sorts of people. The Labour Party's usual colonial formula of gradual introduction of electoral government before independence or self-determination is generally resented as patronising by the sophisticated and cultured people of Cyprus who remind one, with their usual charm and courtesy, of their infinitely ancient civilisation, so much older than our own. Why, they ask, should

they be 'nursed' to a stage when we consider them ready for self-determination when they, as part of Ancient Greek civilisation, descend from the oldest democracy in the world?

They quote the Acts of the Apostles, referring to St. Paul and St. Barnabas in Paphos many years before the Word came to Britain. To them gradualism in independence is an irritation. The most prevalent call, in every paper from left to right, in every organisation from Chambers of Commerce to sports clubs, is for 'self-determination.' And self-determination means Enosis, or union with Greece.

This, although a little disturbing to the present pattern of colonial development, is not new. There was an earlier successful Enosis movement on the part of the Ionian Islands, which Britain handed to Greece in 1864, in spite of all the arguments of the strategists. In 1878 when, under the Treaty of Berlin, Disraeli 'won' Cyprus for Britain from the Turks, the islanders welcomed their new masters, after centuries under the infidel. There was general confidence that the policy towards the Ionian Islands would be repeated. Ever since the agitation has continued, with varying intensity, but with the same spirit. That is why it is a bankrupt and stupid theory that Enosis is communist-inspired. It flashed brightly when, in 1915, Lloyd George offered Cyprus to Greece in exchange for her immediate entry into the war against Germany. Greece, exhausted by the Balkan wars, did not join the Allies until 1917, and it was maintained by the

British Government that the bargain had not been kept. But the offer by Lloyd George seemed to many Cypriots—and others—the acceptance of union with Greece as a proper and practical possibility.

Meanwhile Greece, which did not finally establish her own independence as a kingdom until 1832, has been gradually gathering the islands into the fold—the Ionian Islands, Crete, and since the last war, the Dodecanese and Rhodes. Only Cyprus remains outside the motherland.

Why should the people of Cyprus want to be part of Greece? The short answer is because, apart from the Turkish minority of 18 per cent., the people are Greeks. Much time has been wasted in useless argument about this 'Greekness.' It must be accepted as a first step in dealing with the problem. In 1931, the Governor, Sir Ronald Storrs, said, 'The Greekness of the Cypriots is indisputable. No sensible person would deny that the Cypriot is Greek-speaking, Greek-thinking and Greek-feeling.'

There are three arguments used, even by people who accept this premise, against Enosis. Firstly that Greece is reactionary; secondly, that the power of the church should not be encouraged; thirdly, that there are strategic considerations. The advancing of these reasons is itself evidence of colonialism in thinking about the problem. 'It is for us to decide,' was the usual answer in Cyprus. 'We may have to suffer,' a trade union leader told me, 'but in time we will work with the people of Greece to achieve a progressive Government.' 'It is no business of yours,' said another, 'if we are prepared to risk prison. That is our decision, and ours alone.' The same arguments are used against doubters who say that the standard of living will be lower—though the fact is not always accepted.

The anti-clerical tradition of the Labour movement here makes it difficult to understand the rôle of the Church. In Cyprus there are historical reasons for the temporal power of the Church. Under the Turks the Archbishop was used as the responsible leader of the conquered people. He had to keep order and collect taxes—and lose his life if he failed. The Archbishop's title 'Ethnarch' means 'leader of the people,' and this leadership is real to many people. This temporal position would, of course, disappear if union with Greece were achieved, as it relates essentially to the country's 'occupied status.'

Strategic arguments are used freely, and as money pours in to build up the Middle East H.Q. the British Government is more deeply committed. It is not clear of what value in modern warfare is a small island on which we apparently propose to put troops and supplies among a hostile popula-

tion. But, apart from the Communists, I found a general agreement that Cyprus might well be part of a NATO defence system, as part of Greece. Papagos himself was very emphatic to me on this point. There are NATO forces in Greece, in Crete; there could be, he has undertaken, in Cyprus, too, and this would be acceptable to people who are opposed to being used, without consultation, to provide a foreign base.

What of the Communists? This word is used very loosely in Cyprus, often to apply to anybody who wants social insurance, or maximum hours of work. There is only a tiny Labour Party, struggling to establish itself and needing help from the movement here if it is to become a power in the island. The Communists, until a few years ago, were opposed to Enosis and in favour of self-government. This programme was so coolly received that it had to be changed in order to attract support. The Communists do not lead the Enosis movement; they recognise it as a force too strong to be disputed, and therefore to be used and accepted.

The strongest traditional political support for Enosis comes not from the left, but from the Conservatives—the Nationalist Party, which is a fact not sufficiently accepted by the British Government which continues to look on Enosis as an unholy alliance of Moscow and Makarios.

What then is to be done? The Labour Party was committed at its Scarborough Conference in 1954 to oppose Tory policy in Cyprus. It is many years since Mr. Attlee said there should be no unwilling members of the British Commonwealth. There should be, as soon as possible, a conference of all interested parties. For once the Archbishop, the Mufti, the mayors, the trade union leaders, should be asked to sit round a table with the Governor and discuss the future of Cyprus.

A possible compromise might be the offer of a constitution, with elected members in the majority in any Legislative Council, and including a time limit for a plebiscite, or a decision in any other form, on the question of union with Greece. During the interval more Cypriots should be brought into responsible positions, local government should be developed and given more responsibility (a municipality cannot even change a street name). Only Philhellenes should be allowed to remain in our administration, and some of the clumsy men and their wives who despise 'the natives' should be posted home. Eventually we must leave Cyprus, and it is in the interests of us all to leave as friends, as the result of agreements freely reached. The time has passed when the tiny outposts of Empire have any contribution to make to the safety of the world or to the progress of a civilised way of life.

Comment

WELL DONE, MALTA!

LABOUR has won the election in Malta and Mr. Dom Mintoff now presides over a Cabinet which includes Malta's first woman Minister. The campaign was hard fought, with Labour stressing employment problems and its demand for integration with Britain, against extreme allegations that integration would involve the destruction of the Church and the enforcement of United Kingdom divorce laws. Despite this appalling risk, the Maltese are about to make their approach to the British people. What will our answer be? Its nature will indicate whether we have or have not grasped the implications of living in a many-peopled Commonwealth. Other territories also are showing an interest in Commonwealth organisation. At least one leading Gambia politician has been studying the relationship of Northern Ireland to the United Kingdom, and it is obvious that the restricted basis of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference has aroused dissatisfaction with existing methods of consultation between the members of the Commonwealth. The Malta Labour Party is out to broaden all our minds—and a very good thing too.

'PROTECTING' THE SOMALIS

THE Somalis have had a very raw deal since the war. Split up as they were between British, French and Italian Somaliland, they conceived the idea of a united Somalia which would be made possible by the defeat of Italy and the occupation of the Italian area by the British Military Administration. They also had their eyes on the Ogaden, part of the empire of Ethiopia built up by Menelik, which they regarded as theirs and where they were accustomed to graze their cattle. The British Military Administration continued in occupation there after the war. The first blow came with the United Nations decision to allow Italy to administer her previous territory in Somaliland. It is difficult to imagine any reason for this decision (which the British Labour Government tried to avoid) except that it was taken when Italy was uneasily balanced between the powers lining up for their own cold war. The blow was softened by the condition that the area should become a Trust Territory and become independent in 1960—a condition which the Italian delegate has already informed the Trusteeship Council it will be very difficult to fulfil.¹ Now Ethiopia is to resume administration of the disputed lands in the Haud

and the Ogaden. The Somalis of British Somaliland, who put their country under British protection in 1884, now find that Britain made an agreement with Ethiopia in 1897 in which the Ogaden was recognised as Ethiopian territory. By that agreement Britain is bound. The Somalis have learnt what other people in Africa have learnt before, that protectorate agreements with sovereign powers have no international validity. In the House of Commons on February 25 the Secretary of State confessed that it distressed him to honour the international agreement with Ethiopia, but it must be honoured. No wonder the Somali Youth League is reported to have displayed a poster showing a Somali being dragged in four different directions by Britain, France, Ethiopia and Italy. In their dry, poor, country, they must be wondering what British protection and international trusteeship are worth.

MISSING THE POINT

THE reply of the Government of Tanganyika to the Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission¹ provides a most illuminating revelation of the official mind. Paragraph by paragraph, the Report is analysed, its detailed mistakes exposed, and its 'accumulated substructure of error' laid bare. Yet the main point of the Report is missed. Everybody knows that the Tanganyika Government has an excellent administrative record, that its policies—within the limits of paternalism—are conceived and executed in the interests of the people. The whole point of the Report was to show that this is not enough. The mass of the African population is politically backward. They did not 'seek out or petition the Mission.' But there was extraordinary unanimity amongst the political groups who did express views. It does not help the Government's reputation to write these groups down as irresponsible and self-seeking. The spokesman of the Tanganyika African Union went to Lake Success and thus gave the Trusteeship Council the opportunity to judge his calibre. Only someone who has never seriously sat down to talk with these young men could have written:—

'Whether the Union will emerge as an important political force it is impossible to say, but it will depend upon whether the present largely self-appointed officers will in the future consult the members of the Union and so justify their claim to be their spokesmen. The Administering Authority hopes, however, that the Mission's assessment of the quality of the leaders will prove to be correct.'

¹ Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission, 1954, on Tanganyika: Observations of the Administering Authority. T/1162.

¹ See page 8.

This supercilious tone runs throughout. The impression is left that if the Africans of Tanganyika have achieved anything, this is due either to the hard work of the Administration or to the shining example of European immigrants. The hard work will be wasted if this attitude is maintained. Tanganyika is the one country in East Africa in which African leaders have shown themselves willing to accept parity in the Legislature and to work both with Government and with immigrant races. All they have asked for is some indication of the future that is planned after parity. The Administering authority replies that parity

‘... is regarded as a settlement designed to last for a considerable period and until the time comes for the main communities in Tanganyika to consider future forms of representation.’

This does not answer the question. It is implied that only those in a state of mental confusion cannot understand what the Administration is getting at, yet the Government itself confuses the issue by such claims as that parity is based on ‘the contribution which each race can make towards the development of the Territory,’ when on the contrary it is clearly based merely on the number of communities concerned. If the Government persists in refusing to understand the natural aspirations of the politically-conscious minority, that minority will become embittered and irresponsible.

The Visiting Mission’s foolish recommendation of a 20-year date-line for self-government will become a slogan with which to rouse the people. It will not be analysed, the constructive tasks which need to be performed before self-government is obtained will not be worked out, and political movements in Tanganyika will follow those of Uganda and Kenya into black negation. If that happens, the responsibility will lie entirely on the shoulders of the men who have betrayed their total lack of sympathy in this painstaking and lucid document.

AS WE FORETOLD

THE following question was answered in the House of Commons on March 2:—

‘*Mr. J. Johnson* asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is aware that Africans travelling first class by rail in Nyasaland are now segregated from Europeans; and what steps he is taking to end this discrimination.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd: Railways in Central Africa are on the Federal Legislative List, and although the Federal Government have not yet legislated to assume their powers in this field, I understand that they will do so shortly. They have already assumed general responsibility. The affairs of the railways in Central Africa are, therefore, no longer the responsibility of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

PLANTATION WORKERS IN ASIA

A meeting of members of the Fabian Colonial Bureau on February 16th was addressed by **Mr. Tom Bavin**, Representative in South-East Asia of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Landworkers’ Federation, and the International Union of Food and Drink Workers’ Associations. **Mr. Bavin** said:

‘NEARLY three years ago I was asked by the I.C.F.T.U., the International Landworkers’ Federation and the I.U.F.D.W.A. to go on a fact-finding mission. I was joined by two Asian colleagues each at different intervals.

In *India* we visited Assam and the Dooar areas, where we found considerable unemployment, as the tea market was in recession. Housing conditions were much the same throughout, while medical facilities varied very much according to the type of employer. “Lines” of housing generally consisted of cubicles approximately 8 ft. by 10 ft. square. Sanitation varied from nothing to water-borne facilities. Estates in certain areas under British ownership were passing out of production largely owing to a farming to quit policy and the depression. They were not able to produce at a profit and were being bought by Indian businessmen. These frequently suspended the workers from employment from three to six months and then offered little more than half the current wages, which

at that time were around 1s. 6d. to 1s. 7d. a day plus concession rice. The Trade Union movement was progressing slowly and, on major issues, often ineffectually.

In the Darjeeling area, the crop was of a much better quality but the quantity was low. The effect of partition had been to increase the cost of the transport of coal by some 200 to 300 per cent. Housing on the smaller gardens was worse than in the plains. This was serious because of the seasonal cold weather. There was a sense of frustration in the trade unions, as their activities had borne little or no fruit in concrete achievement after four to five years’ work.

The Plantation Labour code of the International Labour Organisation is accepted, but not fully implemented in India. I could find no case of action being taken where the minimum wage was not paid. Registration of trade unions appears to be inadequate. Cases of misappropriation of funds with no action

taken against those responsible were brought to our notice. It is my conviction that responsible employing interests in the plantations would welcome responsible trade unions with whom they could negotiate. But the trade union movement was often split with self-appointed leaders, some politicians, some opportunists, and some selfless pioneers in social welfare. There are some very fine Indian leaders who, following the tradition of Gandhi, have devoted their lives to the workers' welfare. But welfare work is frequently confused with and accepted as trade unionism. One feels that too much importance is attached to book learning on the wrong assumption that literacy is a necessary preliminary to the building of democracy and a trade union movement. Illiteracy must not be confused with ignorance. We cannot, I feel, wait for literacy, we have to build up by negotiation and get results to demonstrate a functioning democracy. One feels that those members that are literate have, owing to an exaggerated respect for learning, too much influence.

Political liberation and economic well-being are not synonymous. The latter is only possible where there are strong and active trade unions. The position is not hopeless in the plantations. One encouraging sign is the success of the two-week schools held in the various plantation areas by the I.C.F.T.U. From these pupils are drawn to the I.C.F.T.U. training college, which is having a considerable impact on the movement generally in Asia.

In *Pakistan* conditions in the tea areas appear to be worse than anywhere else in Asia. One feels that the trade union movement in plantations has not yet given the results that were expected. Most of the workers in tea are Hindu and the trade unions are frequently communal.

In *Ceylon* the conditions are relatively better. There is a Plantation Union of 300,000. Unfortunately, the conflict over the position of Indian nationals, who are the majority of workers on the plantations, has given considerable concern to the Union and has introduced a political issue of which the Communists have naturally sought to take advantage.

In *Malaya* the Trade Union Adviser's Department has in the past done a very fine job of work, particularly in assisting in rebuilding the unions after the débâcle of 1948, when the Communists dominated many unions and absconded to the jungle with their funds. As a result of this experience, the Chinese have unfortunately been very reluctant to rejoin the movement. The Plantation Workers' Union is some 80 per cent. Indian and Malay in membership, although the recent drive for Chinese members is beginning to show results. On my first visit rubber prices were high and the Union had been able to negotiate increases in wages with back pay. The leaders of the present trade union movement have had to endure very real sacrifices, often in the early days working under threat of death from the Communists and against bitter opposition by the employers, who only wanted "paper" unions. Now they have broken the stranglehold of the Communists and they are emerging in a pattern that may well prove a basic feature in meeting the specialised requirements of plantation workers in South-east Asia.

The political situation in *Indonesia* is dynamite. There are two groups of unions, one non-Communist, the other Communist, the latter being stronger in the plantations of Java. Their strength, one feels, is derived not from the Communist ideology of the members but rather from the frequent refusals of employers to negotiate on a reasonable basis. If the employers give way only to threats, the workers are attracted to unions that achieve results by this means. In Sumatra, there is a very fine plantation union with some 300,000 members, who are mainly Islamic, working with a Christian leader. As politics become more evident in the unions, under Communist pressure, the situation appears to be hardening in the anti-Communist groups.

On returning to Singapore to establish the Plantation office, I found that the trade union situation, particularly in the rubber unions, had deteriorated in *Malaya*. They had accepted the principle of tying wages levels to the price of rubber, prices had fallen and the membership had fallen away, owing to the Union having to negotiate four wage cuts in one year. The unions were financially in an extremely difficult situation and the membership in one union had fallen from 50,000 to 18,000. The situation has now been considerably improved, the fall in membership has been arrested and the five small unions amalgamated into the National Plantation Workers' Union, so that the total of paying members is at least 40,000 and appears to be increasing. They are now negotiating for a Joint Industrial Council. A further fall in rubber prices with a reduction in wages will seriously endanger the unions.

Time is short in *Malaya*. It is essential to build up a strong inter-racial trade union movement capable of political expression before self-government comes. Otherwise, one feels, there is a danger that financial interests, mainly of one community, will take over and control the trade unions. The workers must be given the opportunity to help themselves, even, if necessary, to make mistakes. Too much paternalism by Governments or other bodies can be a mistake. They should play their full part with Government and employers on discussions with regard to housing, freedom to live outside the estates, and on social conditions. We have the chance of showing Asia, through *Malaya* as she emerges to self-government, that democracy works. We can show this by the self-help, responsibility and negotiations of the trade union movement, which will enable the workers to take their full part in self-government.

SITUATION VACANT

FABIAN COLONIAL BUREAU requires Assistant Secretary. Academic training and individual or affiliated membership of Labour Party essential, previous study of colonial affairs an advantage. Salary £400 p.a. or upwards according to qualifications. Full particulars from the General Secretary, The Fabian Society, 11, Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.1.

COLONIAL OPINION . . .

The Economics of Independence

We give below extracts from a speech by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Prime Minister of Western Nigeria, to the Lagos Chamber of Commerce, February 1955

'As we move nearer and nearer to self-government so does the economic issue come more and more to the forefront of public discussion. To-day, we hear and read less of attacks on "British Imperialism" than we do of intelligent discussion on the various aspects of our economic problem. . . This is as it should be. Political independence and economic spoon-feeding do not go well together. In other words, political self-determination, if it is to be worthwhile, real, and not illusory, must go hand in hand with its twin brother, economic self-determination. The change in the trend of public discussion . . . is proof of realism on the part of Nigerian public men, and their readiness to bear the responsibilities and exertions of political independence. . .

From all indications, it is clear that the fiscal period beginning April 1 this year is going to witness a greatly accentuated tempo of developmental activities throughout the country. . . New railway lines and many new roads are going to be built. . . Schools—both primary and secondary—are going to be established at a phenomenal pace. . . New industries . . . which are already coming into being will increase in number. . . Large-scale expansion in every sector of commercial activities . . . will enlarge more rapidly than before to cope with ever-rising demands. Already there appears to be a boom in the building trade. . . The Governments of the Regions are intent on stimulating the cultivation of new export crops. The East is already experimenting with cocoa, and the West is busy planting more citrus fruit, rubber and coffee.

. . . But one serious danger lurks in them. One significant effect of all these developmental activities would be that a substantial number of the 13m. people who are now engaged in the production of our food would be attracted from the farms to join the labour force required. . . we might find ourselves in a position where we have more roads, more cocoa, more water supply, plenty of money, etc., but less to eat. . . the Governments must go all out to give technical advice and assistance as well as financial aid to those farmers who grow the food we eat. . . When the price of export produce is low, they produce food crops to supplement their subsistence and earnings. When the price is high, they abandon the cultivation of food crops. The answer . . . does not lie in reducing the price of export produce, but in educating the people.

. . . Mass literacy or adult education must not be looked upon by Governments as mere cultural advancement, it is also an incentive to greater effort in economic pursuits. Above all, the marketing of the farmer's products must be so organised that he gets adequate return for his labour.

All these things are easier said than done. . . But the Regional Governments are fully alive to the diffi-

culties and their responsibilities. Group and co-operative farming is being encouraged so as to make mechanisation easier. Co-operative marketing of foodstuffs is being organised with a view to enabling farmers to market their produce at the best possible prices. The Agricultural Departments are pursuing their extension work among farmers with some intensive vigour. And the extensive loans being given to farmers have provided great stimulus. . . The prosperity that is in the offing must not be confined to town dwellers and those engaged in non-food-producing activities. . . The so-called peasant farmer must be made to feel *now* that there is both dignity and money in his . . . calling.

The International Bank Mission has projected a five-year programme for Nigeria. . . Where will the money come from? The Bank Mission Report offers an answer. . .

"There are four sources of finance for Nigerian public expenditure. Government revenue, reserves of public funds, borrowing at home and abroad, and grants from the Government of the United Kingdom. We recommend drawing upon all of them: taxes should be substantially increased. . ."

. . . by advising us to draw upon reserves of public funds, we are being asked to make use of our past savings in the way of Government Reserves and Marketing Board surplus. . . These are, however, savings which have been accumulated over a period of years when we had unusual good luck and prosperity. It would be reckless to imagine that those days would repeat themselves in the future, or that it would be easy as heretofore to accumulate a similar magnitude of fortune.

By "borrowing at home and abroad" *now* we would be committing a substantial slice of our future public revenue to the payment of interest and the servicing of loans. Borrowing is very easy in the receipt but difficult in repayment.

Receiving grants from the United Kingdom means in plain language developing our country to no small extent on the sweats of British taxpayers.

Finally, to draw upon Government revenue . . . means . . . that "taxes should be substantially raised." This is the crux of the whole problem of financing the admirable five-year programme projected for us by the International Bank Mission. And that is the very rock on which the ship . . . when launched is likely to be wrecked.

The harmful tendency in this country to-day is the increasing desire of our people to have more and more public amenities without having to pay for them. It is a weakness inherent in all human-beings to want to get the good things of the world for nothing if we could. But it is one of the inherent weaknesses which must be suppressed or eliminated in the individual if he is to enjoy the respect of his fellow-men, and in a political society if it is to rise to the enviable status of true nationhood . . . it is . . . inducing national retrogression to use taxation as one

of the bones of political contention. Our people must be made to realise before it is too late that the price of progress and independence is a high one, and that it is mainly reckoned in £ s. d. received from the citizens according to their respective ability, either directly or indirectly.

... It would be defamatory to say of all workers in general that they have not been giving of their best. Some are quite good, but many are indifferent and bad. This is obvious even to a visitor or casual observer. The business houses have succeeded in a large measure in making their workers earn their pay. But Government has not. . .

A peculiar feature of our society in Nigeria to-day is that those who contribute little to the national pool want to get the largest share of the total product. The slogan seems to be "Less work, more noise and more pay." Every labourer is indeed worthy of his hire; but he should be worth no more and no less than his hire. . .

The impression seems to have gained ground here and abroad that we do not favour the admission of foreign capital into Nigeria. The commercial and industrial activities of foreign nationals which go on around us every day ought to give the lie to that. . . In the development of Nigeria foreign capital has in the past played a dominant and, on the whole, a very useful rôle. It would be sheer self-delusion and irresponsibility to imagine that it will not continue to play an equally dominant rôle for many a year to come. . .

But there is an important point which must be borne in mind. . . It is a well-known characteristic of a subject people to suspect the economic intentions of the nationals and associates of their titular overlord. They had been subjugated in the past against their wish. While they remained ignorant as to their rights or impotent in enforcing them, they have been thoroughly and unfairly exploited as well . . . one of the lessons which economic history teaches is that when economic forces are allowed to operate without political control or regulation they always result in a permanent disparity in which those who have continue to have the more, and those who have not or little remain for ever poor. It is natural prudence, therefore, that as we are about to attain to freedom, and are comparatively much weaker than our erstwhile overlord, we should make sure that anything which may have the slightest look or resemblance of a shackle is removed. It is also essential for the creation of mutual confidence that foreign business should not insist on having any advantage which may give rise to a suspicion that they want to retain the status quo by subtle economic devices.

... There are . . . two practical ways in which the mutual confidence required now may be established. The first is for foreign capital to admit indigenous capital supplied by private individuals or Government into partnership in appropriate cases. The second is for foreign business establishments to employ suitable and qualified Nigerians in managerial and key positions. Those business houses which have adopted the latter measure to some extent know that they enjoy the goodwill of all Nigerians. . .

Impetus in Antigua

'The acquisition of land in Antigua, compulsory or otherwise, has been a special feature of this government. Lands have been made available for public purposes because it is the accepted policy that the people should have security of tenure and where possible a stake in the soil of their island. This in the process of time tends to make better citizens, for pride of ownership carries with it certain obligations that are a prerequisite of good citizenship. In the past years people in the villages were squeezed in by estate lands or lived on the estates. They could only rent estate lands for purpose of cultivation and grazing. To-day that position is changed. In every district in the island lands have been made available for the peasants to cultivate and steps are being taken now to establish communal grazing areas. . .

... We do not want it felt that we are envious of persons who own large estates and want to take away their lands. We are only prepared to remove the contemptuous position of the working man by giving him an opportunity to assist himself through cultivation with a possible right of ownership or removing the fear of eviction by unscrupulous landlords from him. We are out to stop the dissatisfaction that creates strifes in other countries such as Kenya where one or two persons own thousands of acres and the natives can hardly find space to live.

The policy of Labour in securing land for the peasants . . . has produced a great impetus in production. . . We have also found means of assisting the peasants in cultivating the land. The Peasants Development Office here is unique in the West Indies. It is an integrated service of cultivating, reaping, marketing, and providing loans, and through this when we look around Antigua we can be proud to see the intensive cultivation that has sprung up within the past two years. . . We have set the stage for other West Indian islands and are proud of the position we hold.'

The Workers' Voice, October 31, 1954.

The Overseas Chinese

'(Summary.) The overseas Chinese in South-east Asian countries have increased in number since after the World War II. . .

But since after World War II Colonies in South-east Asian countries have gained independence and communalism and nationalism became prevalent. Anti-Chinese movements are very common in the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand and Burma, and restrictions on Chinese capital are imposed. As the Chinese in Singapore and the Federation form the majority of the population, they do not feel much of the effects of the anti-Chinese movements. But, if any communal strifes were to occur in the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand and Burma where the Chinese are fewer in number, co-existence would be impossible unless they become citizens of the country.

China has all along regarded the Chinese born in foreign countries as Chinese subjects. But now dual nationality is no longer practicable to the Chinese in South-east Asia. We agree that China should amend

its laws of citizenship to allow overseas Chinese to exercise their local citizenship rights to safeguard their commercial and industrial interests and influence already acquired in their respective countries.

We should co-exist peacefully with the local people, participate in building up of the country, study the languages and culture of the local people and fight for equal treatment, and at the same time preserve traditionally the splendid culture of the Chinese people. This is no contradictory thinking but a progress of universalism. We Chinese should co-operate with the local people and be loyal to the country of residence. Though we give up the citizenship rights of a Chinese subject we do not abandon the good Chinese cultures which is most valuable to mankind. Without China's philosophy of universalism, the existence of mankind would not have any significance.

The many millions of Chinese in South-east Asia should advocate universalism and not nationalism. In this atomic age, no country can isolate itself from others. South-east Asia has abundant resources and would become the geographical centre of the world's economy to-morrow. We should have far-sight and have progressive thoughts. We should be the local people's leaders, guides and friends and share their citizenship rights without lowering our dignity or abolishing our culture. Then the Chinese in South-east Asia would have a very bright and happy future.'

*Nanyang Siang Pau, Singapore, 25.12.54.
(Summarised in Weekly Digest of Non-English Press, Singapore.)*

Cinema Corporation Bill

'A bill for a law to establish a cinema corporation in Eastern Nigeria has been published. . . The object of the proposed corporation will be to produce shows on the life and culture of the people and make them aware of them. This is a very important move in the right direction.

The effect of cinema shows on the life of the people is tremendous. This is illustrated by the way commercial cinemas have conditioned the habit and ways of many an adult in this country to-day. Some of these are deplorable because they pander to base instincts of man and lionise those who in normal life should be shunned by decent society.

Further, some morbid advertisers and publishers have been grossly unfair to this country and its peoples. Those aspects of our life which are least likeable have been filmed and flown abroad. The uncivilised sections of the country where slums and their sisters, poverty, disease and squalor reign have been presented to the world as the best that can be found in our country.

The motive of such dishonest and highly libellous works is political. It is mainly to run down the people and thus popularise and strengthen the case against self-government. A corporation devoted to correct interpretation of the people's life, culture, customs and other ways will surely defeat these base ignoble works. It will also awaken people to the realisation of the beauties in their culture and the necessity of preserving them. . . '

West African Pilot (Lagos), 25.2.1955.

1960 IN SOMALILAND

'ITALY may be loving and giving but UNO's child has to work for her living': this parody of the old birthday rhyme summarises the situation in Somaliland as seen by the United Nations Visiting Mission. A note of concern, even of alarm, has crept into the pages of the Mission's Report.¹ For some years, members of the General Assembly have demanded that Administering Authorities apply swift and clear-cut time-tables to independence, and some have exhorted local populations to put not their trust in their semi-imperialist governors, but to look to UNO. All these things have come to pass in Somaliland under Italian Trusteeship, but the result is not the joyful one which might have been expected.

Indeed, the Visiting Mission urges an increased effort to clarify the minds of the people concerning the scope and competence of United Nations. For, it says, they have 'an inaccurate view of the responsibilities of UNO.' The Mission observes a 'strong sense of dependence upon others and an expectation

that whatever is not provided by Italy will be provided by the United Nations.'² The Mission encountered a general anxiety that there should be financial support from 1960, when Somaliland is scheduled to become independent. Gently passing the buck, the Mission observes that it is of primary concern that the Administering Authority should continue its subsidy until 1960 and press on to make the country self-supporting, for the flow of external capital would obviously depend on how far the present administration is able to strengthen the economic foundations of the country and indeed its viability, an ominous word not before heard in relation to Somaliland.

The alarm at what UNO may become responsible for in Somaliland is justified. The budget shows a two-thirds deficit on total expenditure; there is a trade deficit on 31 per cent. on the annual value of imports. In 1960, it is reckoned, there may be a deficit of between \$5m. to \$10m. and an adverse trade balance of \$10m. Italy cannot guarantee her State Loan beyond that year, and there is a marked absence of

¹ Report of U.N. Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954. T/1143.

² Page 11.

foreign capitalists anxious to supply the minimum of \$1m. loan needed for development. When all is said the basic fact remains that Somaliland is a very poor country with few resources; its people have little social cohesion; and the attempt to wrench it into Western shapes and patterns of development would cost far more money and time than has been allowed. Even teaching people that improvements have to be paid for takes time. The Mission noted 'a strong desire for improved social services' which were often 'not realistic in terms of financial resources.' The Somalis are unwilling to pay taxes either for schools or land developments since they are 'accustomed to receive these facilities free.'

There is a certain complaint by the Visiting Mission that Italian efforts at development have been piecemeal and show poor results. It is necessary, says the Mission, 'to integrate the community resources into such efforts so that the potential for continuing community activities is fully exploited.' It is, however, not likely that any Power could achieve this comprehensive goal in ten years even if it understood what was meant.

There are two important problems facing an independent Somaliland which would loom much larger were it not for the over-riding urgency of economic insolvency. The first is that of the Border with Ethiopia. Both the provisional lines drawn in 1948 and 1950 ceded a certain amount of pre-war Somali territory; even the 1935 line divided some Somali tribes, and the present situation is such that there is increasing discontent which, the Mission notes, not only damages the prestige of UNO but may even lead to the danger of war in 1960, if cattle raids continue unchecked. It is impossible to draw any line which will not cause hardship by dividing some tribe or by denying it access to some traditional watering place, or by creating a refugee problem. It is obvious that for the future peace there must be adequate and trusted mediation from outside, and either free access to relatives and water in the disputed zone or else the creation of a neutral zone watched over by neutral outsiders.

The second problem is that of education, in which the situation has changed very little since the last Report.¹ It is still bedevilled by the language question, Somali leaders insisting that Arabic and Italian should be the languages of instruction in a country where Somali is the only language spoken by the majority of children and teachers. Indeed, the Administering Authority observed that such is Somali opposition to the development of Somali as a written language that the publication of a primer in that tongue has been halted. The political and religious feeling behind this is so strong that it 'does not appear to be capable of a reasonable solution before 1960.'

Nevertheless, the Mission urges the staffing of schools by Somalis, for, 'the staffing of 70 primary school teaching posts in 1960 by non-Somalis is from the Mission's standpoint unacceptable'—this despite

a desperate shortage of teachers with any kind of training. Since, however, only 4.1 per cent. of the school-age population get to school and the target of 13,600 children in school by 1955 was achieved only to the extent of 9,400, it is possible that supply and demand may equate themselves. Schooling is still limited to areas round Mogadisciu; there is little provision for rural areas and none for the nomadic population. 'In view,' observes the Mission, 'of the total absence of schools for the nomads and semi-nomads who represent 70 per cent. of the population . . . it seems clear that education is not yet playing a vital rôle in the social and economic development of the country.'²

Adult education is not totally neglected and UNESCO has sent to Somaliland an expert on fundamental education, with a project and courses ranging from talks on general culture to the introduction of football. The Mission observes that there has been difficulty in overcoming the conservatism and suspicion of the people; but when one reads this section of the report one is irresistibly reminded of that gentle American comedy *The Tea House of the August Moon*, wherein the education officer, bogged down in an alien culture, is desperately trying to explain that though democracy means majority rule, the village must build a school house, though there are no children, instead of the Teahouse with Geisha Girl it so greatly desires.

The Mission in its conclusion suggests that the Administering Authority should have made an exhaustive study of tribal customs and manners, for only on this basis can 'methods be devised for the development of the tribal society into a democratic pattern.' And only on the development of this democracy can the unity and peace of Somaliland depend. It is a measure of the unreality with which UNO faces other people's practical problems, that this should have been expected with such limited resources and time at Italy's disposal.

Molly Mortimer

MARGARET WRONG MEMORIAL FUND

A new policy is being initiated this year. There will in future be two awards, the Margaret Wrong Prize (of up to £20) and the Margaret Wrong Medal. In 1955 the Prize is offered for a piece of original literary work in English, French, Portuguese or Afrikaans by an African whose home is in any part of Africa south of the Sahara. The Medal will be awarded for a published original work in an African language which is of outstanding literary merit and written by an African whose home is in West Africa, including French West and Equatorial Africa, Liberia, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Nigeria. Full details from the Secretary, Margaret Wrong Memorial Fund, Edinburgh House, 2, Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.

¹ See *Venture*. April, 1953, page 9, and October, 1953, page 10.

² Page 139.

Parliament

Ashanti and the Gold Coast Government. Mr. Reid asked for a statement on the constitutional dispute between the Ashanti leaders and the Gold Coast Government. Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that the dispute arose from the demand of the Ashanti leaders for a federal constitution. The Prime Minister had invited the Ashanti leaders to discuss with him their demand and offered a great deal of participation by Ashanti in Government development planning through a Regional Development Committee and the eventual establishment of a statutory Regional Council. The Ashanti leaders had replied saying that the setting up of a Regional Council was unacceptable to them and that they were prepared only to discuss with the Government what form of federal government would best suit a self-governing Gold Coast. They had asked that the Government should call for a constituent Assembly whose terms of reference would be to draw up a federal constitution to suit the needs of the Gold Coast in general and the autonomous regions in particular. Dr. Nkrumah was writing to the Ashanti leaders noting that the different views were not irreconcilable and had repeated the invitation to a discussion. Mr. Lennox-Boyd added that he was confident that this matter could be resolved in a peaceful and constitutional manner. (February 16.)

Constitutional changes in Nyasaland. In reply to Mrs. White, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that discussions were being held between the Governor and five representatives each of the European, African and Asian communities, together with the nominated member of Legislative Council representing African interests. Mrs. White asked whether consideration had been given to the bringing in of direct representatives of such political organisations as existed, following the precedent that had been set up by Lord Chandos in Nigeria, so as to give them a sense of responsibility for any conclusions reached. Mr. Lennox-Boyd replied that he would bear the point in mind for the future, but conditions were not the same in Nyasaland and Nigeria, he thought the conference convened by the Governor was wisely held and he was awaiting the report. (March 9.)

Financial assistance to Kenya. Mr. Lennox-Boyd stated that Emergency expenditure in 1955-56 was likely to be in the region of £16m., towards which Kenya would be able to provide only £2m. from her own resources. Even if it were possible to reduce the present scale of military operations, a large part of the Emergency expenditure would still continue on such items as police, closer administration and the work of rehabilitation. Subject to the approval of Parliament, Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to provide a further grant of £10m. and a further interest-free loan of £4m. to Kenya in the United Kingdom financial year of 1955-56. The assistance would be called on only to the extent that it proved to be needed and the Kenya Government would be expected to continue to take every step to

increase their own revenues in order to meet their commitments. (February 23.)

Agricultural Officers in Colonial Territories. In reply to Mr. Braine, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that the relatively large number of vacancies was due to recent and substantial increases in the establishments of Agricultural Departments including East Africa. To meet the need, efforts to attract recruits from among graduates of universities in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in the Commonwealth were being intensified. (March 2.)

Acquisition of Land for hydro-electric development in Northern Rhodesia. In reply to Mr. Irvine, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that under the Native Trust Land Order in Council the Governor could acquire land for public purposes. The recent amending Order was to make clear that public purposes included hydro-electric purposes. Under the Orders if any land was acquired compensation had to be paid to the occupier and to the Native Trust Land Fund. If a Native Authority was concerned, it must be consulted before the land was acquired. There was no specific power of appeal, but any interested parties could make representations to the Governor or to the Secretary of State. (March 2.)

Societies Ordinance in Tanganyika. In reply to Mr. John Hynd, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that the Ordinance provided for a system of registration of societies (with certain defined exceptions) and examination of their constitutions and objects. Its purpose was to protect Africans from exploitation by unscrupulous society organisers, and it gave the Government power to declare illegal a society that was used for any purpose prejudicial to law and order or at variance with its declared objects. In reply to a further question by Mr. Hynd, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that the Lake Province, Mwanza and Malampaka branches of the Tanganyika African National Union had been refused registration and their property had been vested in the district commissioners concerned for disposal in accordance with the provisions of the Tanganyika law. (March 2.)

Registration for elections in Malaya. In reply to Mr. Willey, Mr. Hopkinson said that it was estimated that of those qualified to vote, between 250,000 and 450,000 did not register. Mr. Willey asked whether it was not disturbing that such a large number of people would be, in effect, disenfranchised and would it not be possible in these cases with the existence of identity cards, to allow automatic registration. Mr. Hopkinson said that he was disturbed when he saw the size of the figures involved, but every effort was made to give publicity to the registration of voters. In Singapore, there was automatic registration but the opposite decision was taken by the Federal Legislature of Malaya on the recommendations of the Elections Committee. (March 9.)

Guide to Books

A Manual of Nuer Law.

By P. P. Howell. (Oxford University Press, 35s.)

Western ideas of justice impinging on tribal custom have created some bewildering and even alarming situations among the Nuer, on the evidence of Dr. Howell's study. The Nuer are a Nilotic people who live in the Upper Nile Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. To-day, in the courts, established partly under British administration to replace unformulated native custom, women may be sentenced to prison for witchcraft. Dr. Howell, as Assistant District Commissioner of the Zeraf district of Nuerland, quotes, as his own experience, from the time of his appointment in 1942, that this was not always a bad thing, socially. The women imprisoned were usually better out of the way, for they were suffering ill-treatment from their neighbours. The Nuer, unused to the idea of imprisonment took the whole matter as a form of expiation or purification and the women went back to live unmolested among their neighbours. But does not the endorsement of witchcraft as a penal offence raise bigger issues? How do neighbouring peoples see this sanction of persecution by Western legal co-operation? Does it not reinforce the old custom of throwing the old ladies to the crocodiles? This is only one of many predicaments faced by those attempting to formulate legal principles against the background of an uncentralised society such as that of the Nuer.

In the past, the ultimate sanction was self-help and the individual accepted rights and obligations in relation to his kinship group. An offence against a member of a rival kinship group might be a serious matter leading to strife, while the same offence against a kinsman could be quietly settled by the family. These values have created some curious anomalies in the customary law. A man who commits adultery with another man's wife has to pay the husband six head of cattle, but, if the two men are kinsmen, only one cow is usually demanded, for there is not the same threat to social equilibrium. It is reassuring to find that the courts in which Dr. Howell functioned dealt with this topsy-turvy evaluation of compensation with shrewdness and realism. Some respect should be shown for methods of negotiation which a people had evolved to keep the peace, he felt, and they could be looked on as 'a starting point from which a compromise could be reached.'

But Dr. Howell admits that all British administrators have not operated with a real understanding of the principles involved. A curious admixture of Nuer law, which is essentially private law, and European legal concepts is leading to a confusing situation. Moreover, the whole situation is complicated by the inability of the Nuer to understand Western ideas of punishing the wrong-doer. If a man kills his wife, he has incurred the wrath of his ancestral spirits, damaged his lineage and piled up debts in compensation to his wife's relatives. Why should he also

receive punishment at the hands of the Government?

If twenty years of the influence of the British Administration has produced this chaotic situation, what will happen after its withdrawal? It is difficult to say. Dr. Howell's final judgment of the situation is non-committal: 'Despite these conflicting forces, we cannot say that the customary law now administered in the Nuer courts is based not on Nuer principles but on our own.'

This is a thoughtful, detailed study which does not attempt any over-simplified solutions of the problems of evolving a legal system out of tribal custom. Dr. Howell's humility in facing his task of administrator of Nuer law is a tribute to his sensitive appreciation of the complexities of the situation. 'The alien administrator can never achieve sufficient knowledge of the complexities of Nuer law to settle such disputes himself. Even if he succeeds in abandoning the conventions which spring from his own environment, he cannot see such cases from the same viewpoint as the Nuer. His only advantage is impartiality which alone is insufficient to justify interference.'

H. A. P.

India and Ceylon, by P. R. Ramachandra Rao (Orient Longmans Ltd., Rs. 2/12). Published in the *India and Her Neighbours* Series by the Indian Council of World Affairs, this booklet attempts to raise the consideration of Indian-Ceylon relations from the plane of dispute to that of the overall interests of the Indian Ocean area. It is too short for this purpose. It should be read for its account of the intricate negotiations over the status of Indian labour in Ceylon. Mr. Rao sometimes pushes the Indian argument too far, as when (p. 49) he almost appears to object to the principle of the certificate of permanent settlement required before voting rights are conferred. This seems a reasonable demand to make of immigrants, but there is no doubt that it has been oppressively and illiberally put into execution in Ceylon. The Labour Government was confident when it transferred power to Ceylon that the Indian minority would have full rights. It was never suspected that just over 20 years after the Donoughmore Constitution, with its common roll, Ceylon would not only still be conducting arguments on citizenship but even be instituting a separate electorate. In the same series and at the same price is **India and Malaya** by Nedyam Raghavan. The granting of full citizenship to Indians who wish to take advantage of it, with a residence qualification, places the Malayan Indian population on a different footing from that of Ceylon. The subject occupies little space in this book, which is useful principally for its account of Indian cultural influences. The final short chapters on the present situation are fair.

Kabongo by Richard St. Barbe Baker. (George Ronald, 10s.) An attractively produced and illus-

trated book giving a lyrical and perhaps euphemistic description of tribal life before the coming of the white man; the disruption which followed his coming

is set forth from the puzzled viewpoint of a Kikuyu chief. The author knows Kenya well, and was himself initiated into the Council of Elders.

ELECTION IN JAMAICA

WE entered Kingston on the eve of the poll, unfortunately after the last big meetings had dispersed, but there was still excitement in the air. A number of people in the streets were brandishing brooms. We overtook one cortège of perhaps half-a-hundred cyclists with brooms lashed to their machines, signifying their desire for a clean sweep.

By contrast polling day was quiet. The morning paper reported one or two eve of the poll clashes, but scarcely more than a little scrimmaging when some candidate tried to drive his car through the fringe of another party's meeting. In Kingston, little knots of people stood around polling stations or party offices. Mrs. Manley, approaching a crossroad in her car, might be greeted with the slogan 'Clean Sweep!' and the sign of the clenched fist, but there was no extraordinary movement in the streets. Some offices were shut in the afternoon so as to give their employees time to vote. Polling closed at 5 p.m.

After dinner when the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation began to announce the state of the poll, we assembled within earshot of the hotel radio. A programme of light music was interrupted every now and again for the latest figures. To one's amazement, the announcers were giving not results in any constituency or totals of seats won and lost, but the state of the count after so many ballot boxes had been opened!

Could anything be more calculated to work up excitement to a dangerous pitch? Was not this offering provocation to rowdiness? Apparently not. The quiet of the hotel patio was broken from time to time by an amplified voice and loud cheering. These we traced to their source on the racecourse, where a huge hoarding had been erected facing the grandstand, with spaces marked out for all the 32 constituencies. Several men with chalk and dusters ran up and down ladders, rubbing out figures and writing up new ones.

A crowd filled the stands and the ground in front of them. Scores of cars were parked along the road outside. But it was a perfectly well-behaved crowd.

Naturally, there was cheering and counter-cheering, but no disturbance. From our hotel bedroom, a good half-mile away, we heard this entertainment conclude at about 4 a.m.

By this time it was clear that there had been a sweep, if not a clean one. Some results had yet to come in; others, where the majority was very small, required a re-count. It was morally certain, however, that PNP would form the government. It also became certain during the next few days that the new Assembly would consist of two, and only two, parties—no independents, no farmers' party, no splinter representatives of any kind. The final result showed that PNP would have a working majority, but the Opposition would not be crushed. On the contrary, it would have the chance to play as constructive a part as PNP under Manley's leadership had done, illustrating the remark of a *Times* leader: 'A country gets the Government which its Opposition deserves.'

Within a week of polling day Manley was in New York where, it is common knowledge, he was successful in luring George Cadbury away from United Nations Technical Assistance to come to Jamaica and take charge of a new Economic Advisory Department. Manley will be his own Minister of Agriculture. These two signs point to something fundamental, comprehensive and integrated being attempted.

That, we guessed, is what the majority of Jamaicans really wanted. They desired a clean sweep, not simply of corruption, of which the individuals concerned paid the penalty, but of patching and piece-meal measures, however good in themselves. There is good, hopeful work being done in Jamaica, some of it begun under the previous Government. It was because that Government was judged incapable of the long-sighted leadership and co-ordination required henceforward, that it is no longer in office. We left a fortnight later with the feeling that this election denoted no ordinary swing of the pendulum, but marked a stage in the growth of a nation.

W. P. Watkins.

CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER

For Reference	April, 1955
What Next in Cyprus? by Lena Jeger, M.P.	1
Comment	
Well Done, Malta!	3
'Protecting' the Somalis	3
Missing the Point	3
As We Foretold	4
Plantation Workers in Asia by Tom Bavin	4
Colonial Opinion	6
1960 in Somaliland by Molly Mortimer	8
Parliament	10
Guide to Books	11
Election in Jamaica by W. P. Watkins	12

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